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THE MENTOR

ABRAHAM
LINCOLN

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Professor of Government
Harvard University

DEPARTMENT OF
BIOGRAPHY

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THE MENTOR ASSOCIATION

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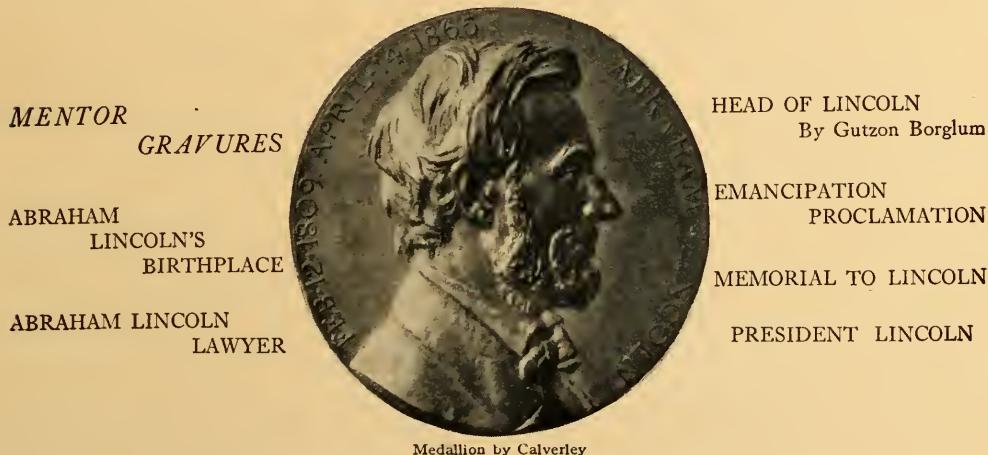
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ABRAHAM LINCOLN

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Professor of Government, Harvard University



THE MENTOR

FEBRUARY 9, 1914 · DEPARTMENT OF BIOGRAPHY



IN 1808 and 1809, at places distant from each other not more than a long day's ride on horseback, were born two men destined to become great leaders in their time,—Jefferson Davis and Abraham Lincoln. One of them started on the top of the social and political wave, the son of a well-to-do slave-owning family, able to get him into West Point, and thus to begin his career as soldier and statesman. The other, Abraham Lincoln, born February 12, 1809, was the descendant of a poor frontiersman, and the son of a retrograde Poor White, so shiftless that when he moved his little family across the river into southern Illinois he had not the grit to build even a loghouse, and lived through a winter in a half-faced camp, one side open to the weather. Lincoln began at the bottom.

The bottom in Abraham Lincoln's time was pretty low. The backwoods people, outside of little towns like Cincinnati and Vincennes, were nearly all ignorant, and nearly all poor except for their land. The only bright light in young Abe's life was his stepmother, a genuinely good and kind woman. What Lincoln himself thought of these early surround-

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ings may be learned from the sketch he prepared for the Directory of Congress in 1858,—a plain narrative of an uneventful life:

“Born February 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky.

“Education, defective

“Profession, a lawyer.

“Have been a captain of volunteers in Black Hawk War.

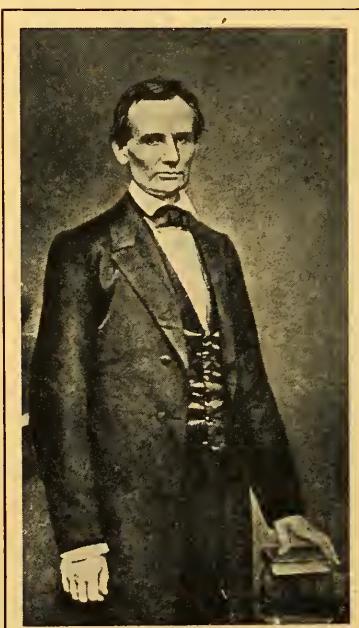
“Postmaster at a very small office.

“Four times a member of the Illinois Legislature, and was a member of the lower house of Congress.”

A year later Lincoln wrote of himself a little more in detail:

“My father, at the death of his father, was but six years of age, and he grew up literally without education. He removed from Kentucky to what is now Spencer County, Indiana, in my eighth year. We reached our new home about the time the state came into the Union. It was a wild region, with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods. There I grew up. There were some schools, so called; but no qualifications were ever required of a teacher beyond ‘readin’, writin’, and cipherin’ to the rule of three.’ If a straggler supposed to understand Latin happened to sojourn in the neighborhood, he was looked upon as a wizard. . . . If any personal description of me is thought desirable, it may be said I am, in height, six feet four inches, nearly; lean in flesh, weighing on an average one hundred and eighty pounds; dark complexion, with coarse black hair and gray eyes. No other marks or brands recollect.”

Young Abe learned to read, write, and cipher; and that small education, together with his strong arms and his honest heart, was all the foundation of his splendid success. It took him some time to find out what he was good for. He tried surveying, for which there was a great demand where land was changing hands; but made nothing of it. He was partner in a store, of which he himself expressively says, “It winked out.” Much of his youth was spent in rough hand labor, from one kind of which he later got the name of “rail splitter.” At last he succeeded in acquiring the small quantity of law necessary to be admitted to the bar, and began a humble career as a country lawyer. Most of his cases were petty, and his fees were small. In all his life he had but one profitable case, and when the young and rather bumptious



LINCOLN AT THE TIME OF HIS FIRST CAMPAIGN

president of the Illinois Central Railroad, George B. McClellan, refused to pay the bill of ten thousand dollars, Lincoln asked for a kind of arbitration of fellow lawyers, who said he was entitled to it. Lincoln knew how to study not only the law, but men, and in following the judges about from county seat to county seat, living in the miserable taverns, arguing cases, swapping stories, and making friends, Lincoln somehow found out what the men about him were thinking.

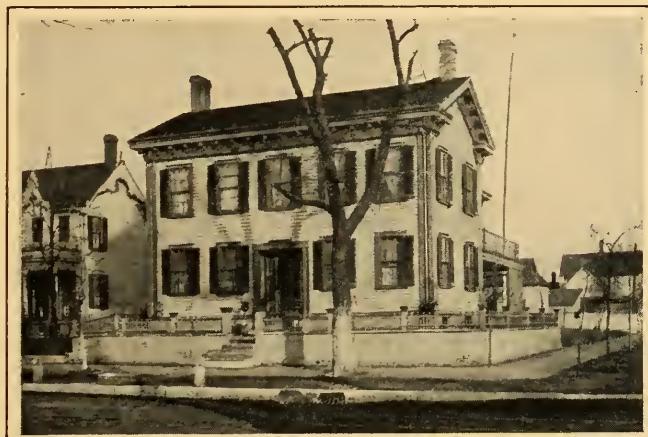
Then began his public life. Every ambitious young lawyer aspired to go to the legislature, and Lincoln served four terms in the lower house of Illinois. There is very little record of his life in that period. He made rather faint and declining love to one or two girls, and finally carried off Mary Todd from under the addresses of Stephen A. Douglas, who was destined to be his great rival. Then in 1846 he was elected to Congress on an agreement that he should serve only a single term. Somehow he could not strike the key of that Congress. He boasted that he had voted forty-two times for the principle of the Wilmot proviso against slavery; but his few recorded speeches are among the poorest of his writings; and from

the end of his term in 1849 till his inauguration as president twelve years later he held no public office, and Douglas was able later to twit him with being a disappointed man.

Yet all the while Abraham Lincoln was getting ready for his great task, particularly by training himself in that marvelous power of expression which makes him not only the greatest of American statesmen, but one of the half-dozen greatest American writers. This power of his is due first of all to the limpidity of his style, and to his use of Anglo-Saxon words. Thus, in writing to Mary Owen in 1837, he said:

“I want in all cases to do right, and most particularly so in all cases with women. I want at this particular time more than anything else to do right with you; and if I think it would be doing right, as I rather suspect it would, to let you alone, I would do it.”

In the early part of Lincoln’s life there were few good newspapers, no libraries outside of the little colleges, no cheap magazines. Lincoln



LINCOLN'S HOME AT SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

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read only a few books, especially the orators of his time,—Patrick Henry, Clay, Calhoun, and Webster,—one of whose phrases he worked over into the Gettysburg address. He was fond of poetry, especially Byron, and knew by heart a number of short poems by American authors; but his two textbooks were Shakespeare, from which he could repeat long extracts, and the Bible, which was his storehouse. His conversation and his writings abound in scriptural quotations.

Not from other people's books and experiences did Lincoln draw his wonderful power of expression. It came first of all from his habit of thinking things through, and then working them out in his own mind, getting them clear before he put them into words, and then through his use of simple and unmistakable language, usually in short sentences. Somebody tells a story of seeing Lincoln as a young man, lying on his back under a tree, with his long legs reaching up against the trunk, reading a book, and kicking himself round the tree as the sun followed him. That was the way he got his ideas together.

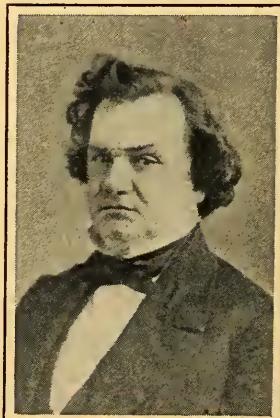
When Lincoln began to come forward in public life he found athwart his path a troublesome question. He was born in a slave-holding state, and lived most of his early life in Illinois, where a good many slaves were still held, in contempt of the ordinance of 1787 and the state constitution. He married into a family that favored and believed in slavery. Apparently he had nothing to gain by taking the side that slavery was wrong and must disappear, and yet that was the side he deliberately took

in 1837 by joining with one Dan Stone in signing a minute on the Journal of the Illinois house to the effect that "The institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy." It seemed a poor start for an ambitious young man.

But Lincoln was one of the first men to size up the truth that slavery was simply a big labor trust. In 1850 all the slaves in the Union were owned by one-tenth of the white families, and most of the three million slaves were owned by thirty-five thousand families, who were trying to draw to themselves the profits of the principal industry of the whole South. The small slaveholder and the Poor White were both pushed to the wall; and the northern laborer began to realize that it was contrary not only to humanity



MRS. LINCOLN



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

but to his personal interest to allow a few people to monopolize the labor of a hundred times their own number. A workman who had nothing but his own hands did not relish the doctrine that laborers were happier and better off if they were owned by other people.

Lincoln was one of the first men of his time to think out the whole question. Nobody hit the nail on the head with regard to human bondage more unflinchingly than did he:

"If A can prove, however conclusively, that he may of right enslave B, why may not B snatch the same argument and prove equally that he may enslave A? You say A is white and B is black. It is color, then; the lighter having the right to enslave the darker? Take care! By this rule you are to be slave to the first man you meet with a fairer skin than your own. You do not mean color exactly? You mean the whites are intellectually the superiors of the black, and therefore have the right to enslave them? Take care again! By this rule you are to be slave to the first man you meet with an intellect superior to your own. But, say you, it is a question of interest, and if you make it your interest you have the right to enslave another. Very well. And if he can make it his interest, he has the right to enslave you."

The merit of Lincoln is that he not only saw instinctively that slavery was a curse, but that he saw why it was a curse; and upon that bedrock of conviction he rested.

Granting that slavery was wrong, then upon what principles were white and black people to live together in the same community? Most of the intense abolitionists firmly believed that the negro was simply a black white man, who required only proper opportunity to show those qualities of continuous virtue, reason, and thrift which were supposed to characterize the average white man. Lincoln did not accept that abolition tenet. No man was more intent upon staying the progress of slavery; but his aim at that time was to do what could be done, which was to check the spread of slavery. The abolitionists to the end of their relations with him thought he was not one of themselves.

Nevertheless, Lincoln had to have some theory of the relation of the races. In a Chicago speech he made a powerful and unanswerable reply to the argument usually summed up in the phrase, "Do you want your daughter to marry a nigger?"



LINCOLN SHORTLY BEFORE HE DIED

"I protest now and forever against that counterfeit logic which presumes that because I do not want a negro woman for a slave I do necessarily want her for a wife. My understanding is that I need not have her for either." And elsewhere, in one of the noblest sentences that ever came from Lincoln's lips, "There is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence,—the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I hold that he is as much entitled to these as a white man. I agree with Judge Douglas he is not my equal in many respects,—certainly not in color; perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment. But in the right to eat the bread, without the leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns he is my equal, and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man."



BAS RELIEF, by V. D. Brenner
On which his design for the one-cent piece is based.

In the Chicago speech of December 10, 1856, he said, "Our government rests in public opinion. Whoever can change public opinion can change the government practically just so much. Public opinion, on any subject, always has a 'central idea,' from which all its minor thoughts radiate. That 'central idea' in our political opinion at the beginning

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LINCOLN AND HIS CABINET AND GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT

(From left to right) C. B. Smith M. Blair S. Cameron
S. P. Chase W. H. Seward G. Welles
Pres. Lincoln Gen. Scott E. Bates

was, and until recently had continued to be, 'the equality of men.'"

Believing in law, Lincoln was strongly against lynching, and his first formal address was called out by the lynching of white gamblers and the burning at the stake of a mulatto murderer, in St. Louis, in 1837.

Lincoln's great opportunity came in 1858, when the issue was squarely raised whether the slave trust should have power through the national government to extend its area and to protect its system. Things turned out so that in Illinois, Douglas (who was not at all an ardent proslavery man) was put forward as the champion of the principle that any state or territory that wanted slavery was entitled to have it; and Lincoln in the famous joint debates championed the principle that slavery ought to be limited, and finally exterminated. That was when Lincoln said, "I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and



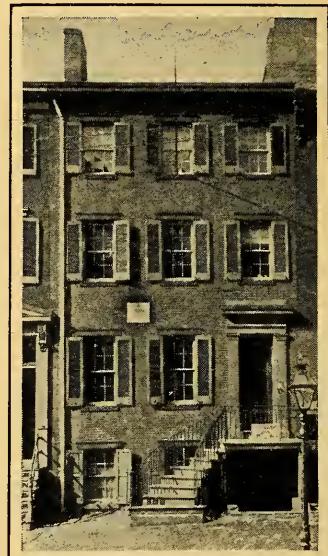
STATUE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN
By Augustus Saint Gaudens, Chicago.

half free. I do not expect this Union to be dissolved,—I do not expect the house to fall,—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other.” Lincoln declared and believed at that time that if the slave powers were not checked they would end by compelling the free states to receive slaveowners with their property.

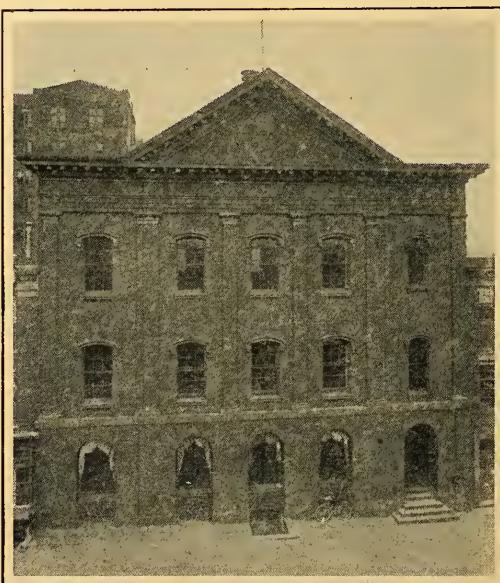
When Lincoln was elected president in 1860 the issue at first was not that of slavery, but of the preservation of the Union, and the back country lawyer was called upon to become the head of the federal government; the militia captain of the Black Hawk War became commander in chief of a million soldiers and sailors; the once obscure member of Congress was the head of a great people, animating them for their work by his splendid messages and proclamations. At the same time he was in many ways the best soldier in the army, and followed the generals on the field with such telegrams as the following to Hooker, “If he comes toward the upper Potomac, fol-

low on his flank and on his inside track, shortening your lines while he lengthens his. Fight him, too, when opportunity offers. If he stays where he is, fret him and fret him.” Again, to Grant, “I have seen your despatch expressing your unwillingness to break your hold where you are. Neither am I willing. Hold on with a bulldog grip, and chew and choke as much as possible.”

The things that bore Lincoln up through this great crisis were his sense of personal responsibility and his desire to do right by all people and all sections. The harshest thing that he is recorded to have said about the South is, “I wish they were all laid flat like those trees,” instantly adding, “and then I wish they would all



HOUSE AT WASHINGTON IN WHICH LINCOLN DIED



FORD'S THEATER, WASHINGTON
Where Abraham Lincoln was shot by John Wilkes Booth.
April 14, 1865.

rise up again like men." The truth is that Lincoln as president of the United States was a southern man, who understood other southern men and the southern problem better than anybody about him; and had he lived we must hope that he would have found a solution that would have avoided the bitterness and hatred of Reconstruction.

The rapid progress of the war brought to Lincoln the duty, which he had not expected, of declaring free three and a half millions of slaves. When the preliminary Proclamation of Emancipation was issued in September, 1862, Congress had already abolished slavery in the territories and in the District of Columbia, and had taken the pith out of the Fugitive Slave Act; and the border states of Maryland, West Virginia, and Missouri were moving toward emancipation. The Proclamation of Emancipation applied only to ten of the eleven seceding states then in arms against the government; but the moral effect of that proclamation

and of the definite proclamation of January 1, 1863, made it clear that if the North succeeded, slavery would die; and if the South succeeded, it would probably live.

The Civil War was a time of great exaltation of spirit, both North and South. In the midst of horrors and miseries, the crushing disappointments of defeat, the fearful cost of victory, both sides felt a passionate sense of devotion to the cause. In the midst of that awful time the steadiest and most unquenchable spirit was always that of Abraham Lincoln. He was great not only because he understood his countrymen, but because he could get on with Congress, and—what was harder—with the members of his own cabinet, several of whom thought they were his superiors. But he became the father and leader of millions of people; and his patience, his forbear-



STATUE BY WEINMAN
At his birthplace, Hodgenville, Ky.

Address of Abraham Lincoln
At the Dedication of Gettysburg Cemetery, the 19th of November, 1863.

A score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of the war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that their nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate, we can not consecrate, we can not hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.

EDWARD EDWARDS

LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG SPEECH

Delivered at the dedication of Gettysburg Cemetery on November 19, 1863. Edward Everett, the great orator, spoke for over an hour on the same occasion, but his speech, which was greatly applauded at the time, has been forgotten; while these few immortal words of Lincoln are known the world over. So short was this speech that a New York newspaper photographer who attempted to catch the President as he spoke, was unable to set his plate and focus his camera before Lincoln had finished. The audience was impressed, but also seemed surprised, and when the speaker sat down, scarcely a sound was heard. From the silence Lincoln inferred that his speech had been a failure. It was not until some time after that he was informed of its greatness.

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ance, and his high mindedness helped to make the whole country patient, forbearing, and high minded. Even his adversaries then and since have borne testimony to his surpassing qualities.

On the morning of April 15, 1865, a poor old colored woman was seen walking sobbing through the streets of Richmond saying, "Oh, Lord, Sam's dead!" Somebody stopped her and said, "Who's dead, Aunty, what Sam?" To which she replied, "Oh, Lord, Uncle Sam!" She did not even know the name of the tall, lean, and worn man who a few days before had passed through the streets of that city; but she knew that her race and the country had lost a friend. Twice since that day have the people of the United States mourned a dead president, but never one who, like Lincoln, seemed a member of five million afflicted families.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

THE EARLY LIFE OF LINCOLN

Ida M. Tarbell.

An excellent account of Lincoln's younger years.

LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Ida M. Tarbell.

(2 vols.), containing much new material.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN—THE TRUE STORY OF A GREAT LIFE

William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik.

(2 vols.) An intimate biography by Lincoln's law partner.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

J. T. Mores, Jr.

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Nicolay and Hay.

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F. B. Carpenter.

An excellent account of Lincoln's daily life while president.

LINCOLN, THE MASTER OF MEN

A. Rothschild.

LINCOLN, THE LEADER, AND LINCOLN'S GENIUS FOR EXPRESSION

R. W. Gilder.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN: AN AMERICAN MIGRATION

M. L. Learned.

A careful study of the Lincoln family in America.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

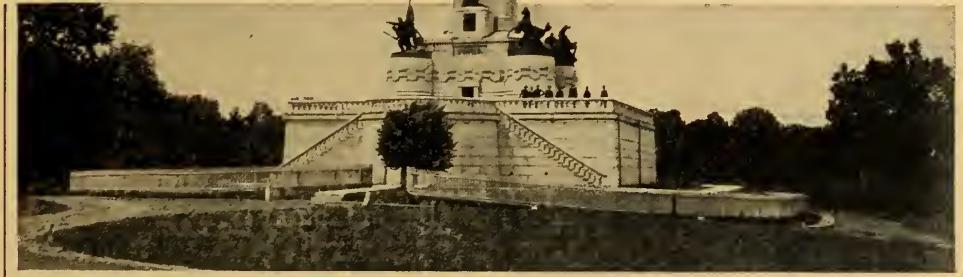
James Ford Rhodes.

(Vols. ii-v), background of the War and of public sentiment.

APPEAL TO ARMS and OUTCOME OF THE CIVIL WAR

J. K. Hosmer.

(vols. xx and xxi of the "American Nation: A History"), a convenient, brief historical background.



MONUMENT TO LINCOLN AT SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

THE MENTOR

ISSUED SEMI-MONTHLY BY

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FEBRUARY 9, 1914

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Editorial

This is the last number of the first year of The Mentor. Next week we lap over the first number, issued February 17th last year, and we place "Volume II" on our cover. It is a satisfaction to end the year with a number devoted to a subject of universal interest and appeal. It so happens that Abraham Lincoln's birthday and the birthday of The Mentor fall in the same week. We have been looking over the past year and taking an inventory of the quality and variety of the fifty-two Mentors.

* * *

The range of subjects has been wide. There have been fourteen Travel articles, thirteen on Fine Art subjects, and the other numbers have dipped into the fields of Music, Literature, History, Architecture, Biography, Nature, Science, and Adventure. We believe that the proportionate number of articles assigned to the different subjects has been a just one. On this point we would be glad to have an expression from our readers. It so happened that we were in a position last fall to judge of the relative attractiveness of different subjects. We made an offer that permitted anyone accepting it to choose his own numbers. In this way we found that the votes were most numerous for Fine Art, Travel, History and Literature.

At that time, however, Nature subjects had not figured to any extent and Biography had no representation. We would like to know what the vote of our readers in the matter of subjects would be today. In reviewing daily correspondence

it seems to us that Fine Art, Travel, and Literature lead—with History and Biography following close in favor.

* * *

The statements of those who write, however, cannot be accepted as final evidence. When all the Mentors are put competitively to the test under special conditions some interesting facts come to light. John Wanamaker took up The Mentor for some time and featured it in one of his departments. During the three weeks of this exhibition a great public interest was aroused and many Mentors were sold. The first choice, as shown by the figures of sale, was for the number on FURNITURE. And we have since received several letters asking us to publish other articles on this subject. We have an article in preparation on Colonial Furniture.

* * *

Out of choice and preference will come the resultant taste of the members of The Mentor Association. Readers who are attracted by a liking for special subjects will become interested in the whole range of subjects. That is one of the basic ideas of The Mentor plan—to lead readers from an interest in one subject to an interest in many.

* * *

In most cases the reader who is interested in a subject is also well informed on that subject. That kind of reader follows the articles in which he is interested with a watchfulness that is stimulating to us. We like the letters of such specially-informed readers. They are a great help to us. And then there are the readers who have no special knowledge and who write for additional information. Their interest is also stimulating. They are the seekers and we are eager to serve them.

* * *

To these and to other kinds of readers—and to all the members of The Mentor Association—our thoughts go out in gratitude for the many words of warm encouragement that we have received during the first year. Our schedule for the year to come will be richer, fuller, and even more varied than that of the past year, and it will show many improvements in detail—some of which have been suggested by the interested members of The Mentor Association.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN was born on Rock Spring Farm, in Hardin County, Kentucky, on February 12, 1809. His father was one of the shiftless "poor whites" of Kentucky. He had been born in Virginia and migrated west. He was a restless and unsuccessful man, working at times as a carpenter and at others as a farmer.

It is said that he could not read or write before his marriage in June, 1806, to Nancy Hanks, mother of Abraham Lincoln. She was distinctly superior to her husband in both intellect and character. It was she who taught her husband to write, and afterward her son Abraham.

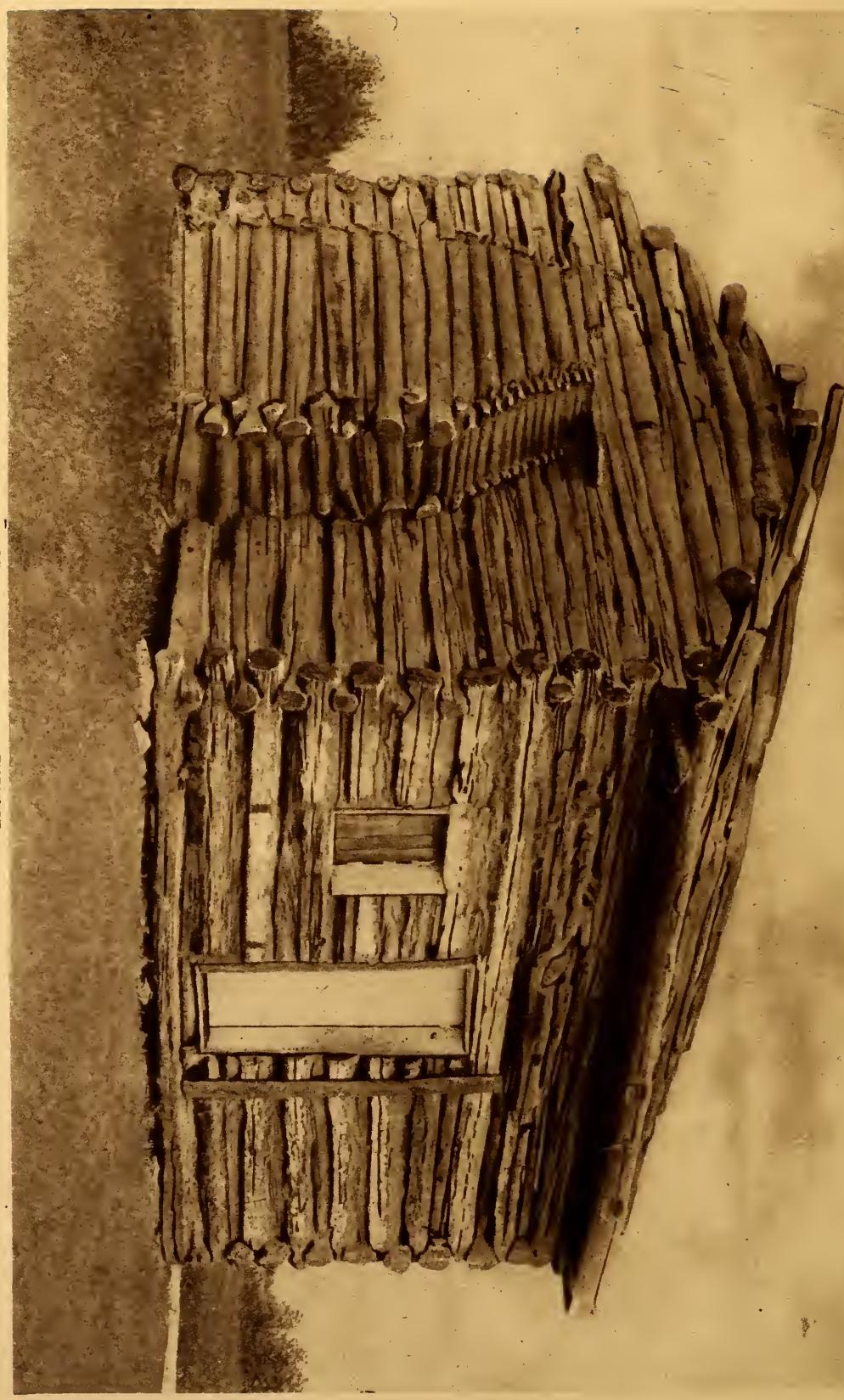
The first four years of Lincoln's life were spent in the usual poverty of early pioneer families. Rock Spring Farm was a wretched, unproductive little place, and about 1813 the Lincoln family moved to a much better one on Knob Creek. In 1816 they crossed the Ohio River and settled in Spencer County, Indiana, where Abraham's mother died, on October 5, 1818.

His father married again the next year. The stepmother was a thrifty woman, and she improved conditions in the Lincoln home greatly. She also had a strong influence over Abraham, doing everything she could to help and encourage him in his studies.

His early schooling in Kentucky amounted to little, probably nothing but the alphabet, or perhaps a few pages of an elementary spelling book. And when they moved to Indiana, two years must have elapsed before he went to school again. Schools were rare, and teachers

knew little more than "readin', 'ritin', and 'rithmetic." A long time afterward Lincoln wrote, "Of course when I came of age I did not know much; still, somehow, I could read, write, and cipher to the rule of three. That was all. I have not been to school since. The little advance I now have upon this store of education I have picked up from time to time under the pressure of necessity." In fact, his entire school days probably amounted to less than twelve months. His favorite books were the Bible, *Æsop's Fables*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Life of Washington* by Weems, and a *History of the United States*. He used all his spare time in study, and the long winter evenings in the little log cabin were spent in figuring out problems on the wooden fire shovel. By the light of the open fire he worked with charcoal as a pencil.

But Lincoln did not have much time to study. Even as a boy he was obliged to do a man's work. There his great height and strength were advantageous to him. When he was only fifteen years old he was six feet four inches tall, and the strongest boy for miles around. It was a year later that he managed the ferryboat that transported passengers across the Ohio River.



ACCORDING to the frontier custom, when a boy became of age he left his father's house to seek his own fortune. So in 1830 Abraham Lincoln departed to grapple with the world. He hired himself to Denton Offutt, a wandering trader and storekeeper, and helped him to build a flatboat and sail it upon the Sangamon,

Illinois, and Mississippi Rivers to New Orleans. A year later Offutt made him a clerk in his country store at New Salem, Illinois.

This gave him moments of leisure to devote to education. He borrowed a few books, and began to study law. At that time an ambitious man naturally turned to law; for it was the highroad to politics.

Lincoln created quite a sensation in the neighborhood by his contest with the champion wrestler of New Salem. The bout was a fierce one. Neither could throw the other; but Lincoln, due to his coolness and self-command, really won it. His opponent, Jack Armstrong, afterward became one of his lifelong friends.

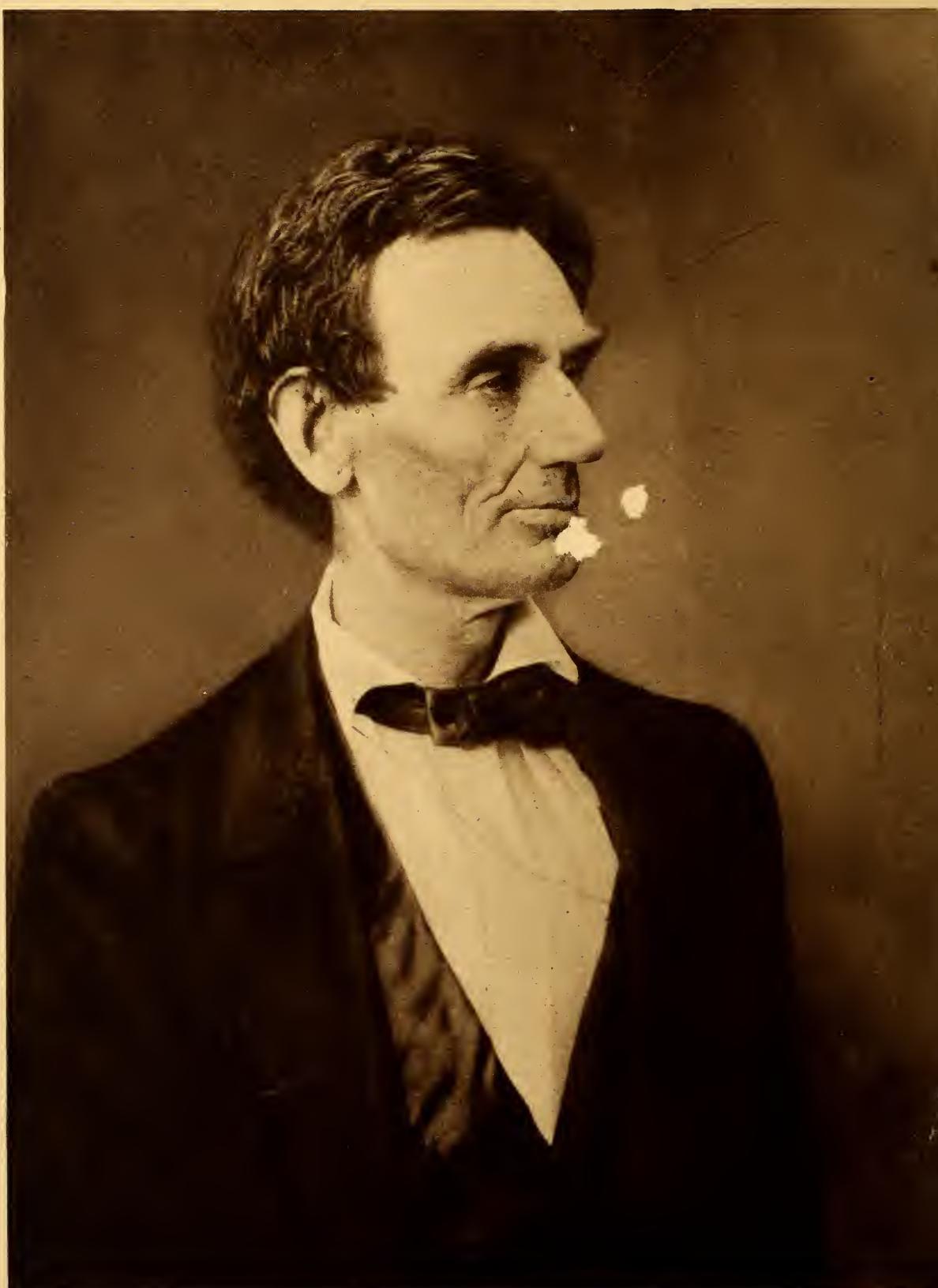
In 1832 Lincoln became a candidate for the Illinois legislature; but before the election was held the Black Hawk Indian War broke out. Volunteers were called, and Lincoln was elected captain of a company. It is said that the oath of allegiance was administered to Lincoln at this time by Jefferson Davis, then a lieutenant, but afterward president of the Confederacy. As captain of his company Lincoln was twice in disgrace; one time for firing a pistol near camp, and another because nearly his entire company was intoxicated. He was in no battle; but after his company was mustered out he reënlisted as a private.

He was defeated in his candidacy for the legislature, due to his unpopular adherence to Henry Clay. He himself was very popular, and in his own election dis-

trict received nearly all the votes cast. After the election Lincoln was, as he himself says, without means and out of business, but anxious to remain with his friends who had treated him so generously. He and a friend, William Berry, bought a small country store. Unfortunately, however, Berry was fonder of looking upon the wine when it was red than of attending to business; and Lincoln preferred to read and tell stories rather than trade. So in the spring of 1833 they went into bankruptcy. Lincoln assumed the firm's debts, which he did not fully pay off till fifteen years later. The years of struggle to settle these debts, his economy, and his steadfast faith to his obligations, won for him the title of "honest old Abe." He was appointed postmaster at New Salem in May, 1833, and in 1834 was finally elected to the legislature.

He served in the legislature until 1842. In one of his campaigns he said, "I go for all sharing the privileges of the government who assist in bearing its burdens. Consequently, I go for admitting all whites to the right of suffrage who pay taxes or bear arms (by no means excluding females)." It is said that this sentiment proves Lincoln to have been a believer in woman suffrage.

Lincoln had an early romance. He became engaged to Miss Ann Rutledge; but her death broke this off and caused the keenest sorrow of his early life. On November 4, 1842, at Springfield, Illinois, he married Mary Todd.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN—LAWYER

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS of Illinois was in his time probably the most powerful figure in national politics. He was one of the leaders of what is now the Democratic party. Douglas was United States senator from Illinois. In 1858 his term was expiring and he planned for reëlection; but in June, by unanimous resolution

of the Republican State nominating convention of Illinois, Lincoln was declared "the first and only choice of the Republicans of Illinois for the United States senator as a successor to Stephen A. Douglas." Lincoln's speech at this convention is well known. He put himself on record as saying that the United States could not exist partly slave and partly free. These were the famous words:

"A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved, I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or the advocates will push it forward, until it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, north as well as south."

Lincoln challenged Douglas to a joint debate on the subject. It was with evident hesitation that Douglas accepted. He did not desire to commit himself absolutely to a proslavery program.

The opponents met at seven designated places in the State. It was arranged that alternately one should speak for an hour in opening, the other an hour and a half in replying, and then the first should have half an hour in closing. People thronged to these debates. Processions, music, and fireworks greeted them wherever they went, and their partisans rallied round them.

The great turning point came when

Douglas asked his opponent a series of questions which were intended to commit Lincoln to strong antislavery doctrines. Lincoln decided to take a most unusual stand, one that might threaten his future career. He realized that if he answered Douglas he would have to commit himself to the doctrine of antislavery. His answer was that he was pledged not to the abolition of slavery in certain districts of the country, but in all territories of the United States.

In turn he put four questions to Douglas, the second of which was, "Can the people of a United States territory in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State constitution?"

This was a delicate question for Douglas to answer directly. If he replied that slavery should not actually exist in the territories unless the people desired it, he was likely to offend the South. If he answered otherwise, he would probably offend his supporters in Illinois. Lincoln's friends advised him against asking the question; for they said that if he did he would never become a senator. Lincoln replied, "Gentlemen, I am killing larger game. If Douglas answers, he can never be president. And the battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this!"

As Lincoln expected, Douglas avoided a direct answer, but replied that the people of a territory could practically prevent slavery by "unfriendly legislation." This so far satisfied the Illinois voters that Douglas won the senatorship; but he lost all chances of becoming president, because he lost the support of the South.



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HEAD OF LINCOLN. BY GUTZON BORGLOM

WHEN the Republican National Convention opened in Chicago in May, 1860, it was committed to "no extension of slavery." At that time William H. Seward was the most conspicuous Republican in national politics, and Salmon P. Chase had long been a leader against slavery. They were the leading candidates for the

Republican nomination, with Seward the favorite.

But the name of Abraham Lincoln was presented by Illinois and seconded by Indiana, and he was known to be the second choice of many States. Two hundred and thirty-three votes were necessary for a choice. On the third ballot Lincoln received $231\frac{1}{2}$ votes to 180 for Seward. Without taking another ballot, enough votes were changed to make Lincoln's total 354, and the nomination was then made unanimous. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine was nominated for the vice-presidency.

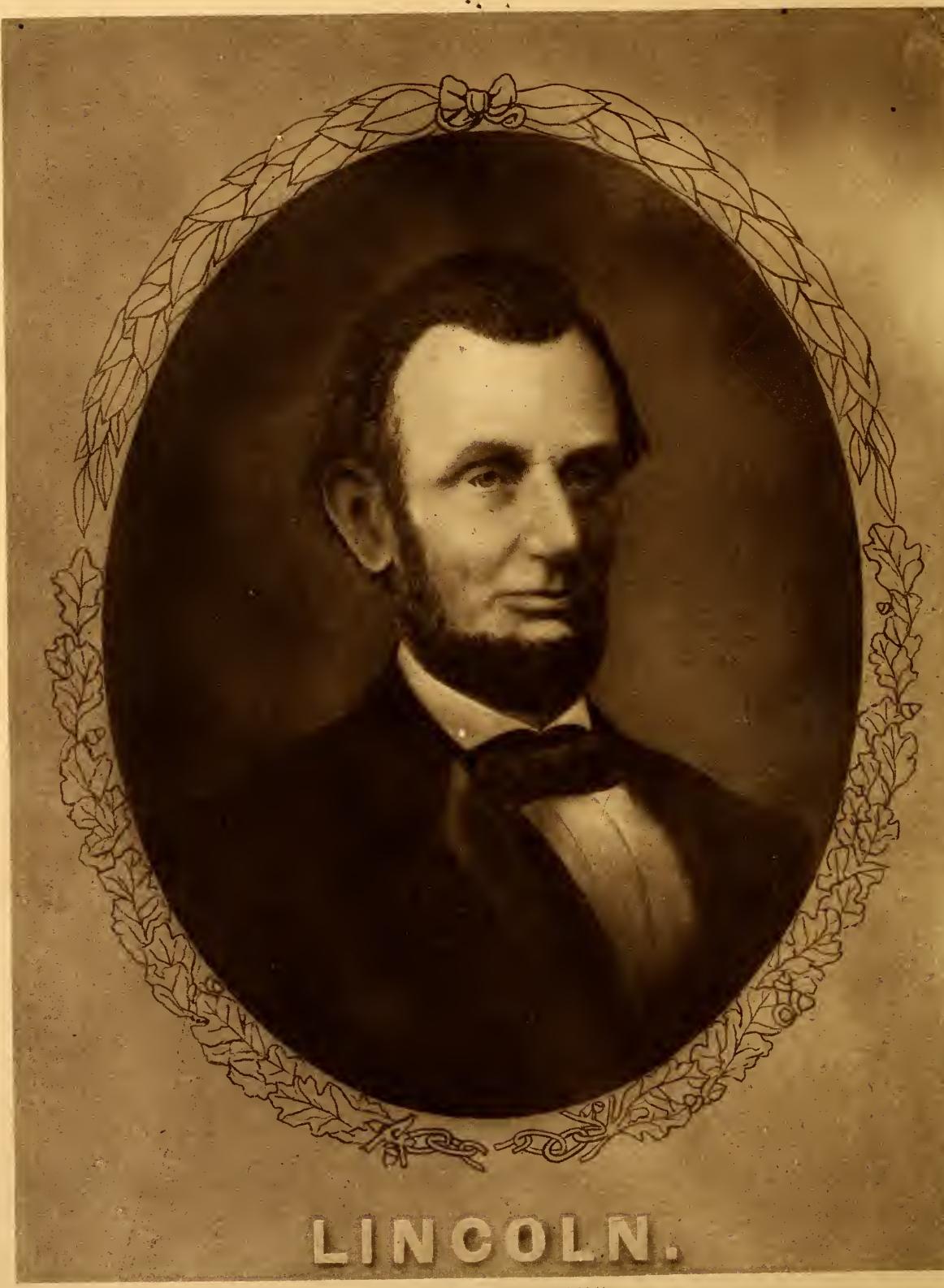
This convention and the campaign that followed were particularly exciting. Feeling ran high. Stephen A. Douglas was one of Lincoln's three opponents. The "rail splitter," as Lincoln was called, received a popular vote of 1,866,352 to 1,357,157 for Douglas, and a majority of the electoral vote.

During the campaign the southern leaders frequently asserted that the election of Lincoln would mean the abolition of slavery, and they said that if this was the case the South would secede. By the time he was inaugurated seven States had formally withdrawn from the Union.

It was a memorable journey from Springfield, Illinois, to Washington, for the president-elect. At every station through which the train passed large crowds were gathered to catch a fleeting glimpse of this almost unknown back-woodsman who was to be their chief executive. Whenever he showed himself he was called on for a speech.

But Lincoln's presidential career was not to be a long, triumphal journey. The most critical period since the Revolution was staring the country in the face. It was a time when only a strong man could survive. Lincoln's inaugural address declared the Union perpetual. He announced that the government would defend its authority, but would not invade the seceding States. But this attitude of non-intervention could not be maintained.

Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor was fired upon, and the garrison forced to surrender to the Confederates. Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand volunteers, and the country responded with enthusiasm. On April 19 Lincoln proclaimed a blockade of southern ports. These actions served to unite the South, and such Confederate States as had not already done so formally seceded.



LINCOLN.

PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN

THE slavery question presented one of the greatest problems of the Civil War. In August, 1861, Congress passed an act abrogating the rights of slave owners to slaves employed in hostile service against the Union. Shortly after this General Fremont, by military order, declared martial law and confiscation against active enemies, with freedom to their slaves, in the State of Missouri. But Lincoln did not believe that the time was ripe for complete freedom of the negroes, and he caused the orders to be modified.

In the meantime, however, he was quietly preparing a way for the Emancipation Proclamation. In 1862 he sent a special message to Congress which recommended offering money aid to States that adopted the gradual abolishment of slavery. This had a great influence on public opinion. In April, Congress emancipated all slaves in the District of Columbia, with compensation to the owners.

All the time slaves were escaping to the North, and these slaves were not returned to the seceding States. Lincoln saw that what was needed to bind the North solidly together was a proclamation of freedom to all slaves in the Confederate States. Not all the people of the North were in sympathy with the war. Many citizens believed that the South had an absolute right to withdraw from the Union if it wished. On all sides the president was assailed as an abolitionist, a disturber of business, and a murderer.

Despite all these discouragements, Lincoln continued in his firm stand that the Union must not be dissolved. He decided to issue an Emancipation Proclamation in 1861, and withheld it only because at that time the Union armies were suffering

serious reverses, and the proclamation would have had no force.

But in 1862 the North began to gain ground, and the tide of war swept southward. On September 22, 1862, President Lincoln issued his preliminary Proclamation of Emancipation, giving notice that on January 1, 1863, "all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free."

On December 30 of the same year he presented to each member of the cabinet a copy of the draft he had made of the new and final Emancipation Proclamation. The next day the cabinet members brought back their criticisms and suggestions on the draft that he had given them, and when the meeting was over Lincoln rewrote the proclamation in accordance with the suggestions, but did not change the main provisions of his own draft.

On January 1, 1863, the usual New Year's Day reception took place at the executive mansion in the forenoon. After greeting people for about three hours, in the afternoon President Lincoln and a dozen persons gathered in the executive office, and with no formal ceremony the president put his signature to the final Emancipation Proclamation, one of the most far-reaching acts that was ever accomplished.

FIRST READING OF THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION



LINCOLN'S first term of office was to end in 1865, and in 1864 the Democratic party set out to defeat him by nominating McClellan for president. The Democrats charged the slow progress of the war and its great cost to Lincoln, and he was assailed on all sides by bitter and vindictive campaign oratory. But the only effect

of this was to solidify the party that believed that the war should be carried on to a finish. The Republicans nominated Lincoln for president and Andrew Johnson for vice president. At the election Lincoln won by almost twice as many popular votes as McClellan, and was inaugurated for a second term on March 4, 1865.

In the meantime the Civil War was being brought to a decisive close. General Sherman took his army through the South, destroying connections and cutting the South in half. Johnston surrendered to him on April 26, 1865, and two weeks earlier Lee had surrendered to Grant at Appomattox, Virginia.

About this time Lincoln was on a visit to the army, and he entered Richmond two days after the flight of the Confederate army. He returned to Washington, and made his last public address on the evening of April 11. The war was over. The Union was saved. Washington was in an uproar of joyous enthusiasm, and the president was the idol of the hour.

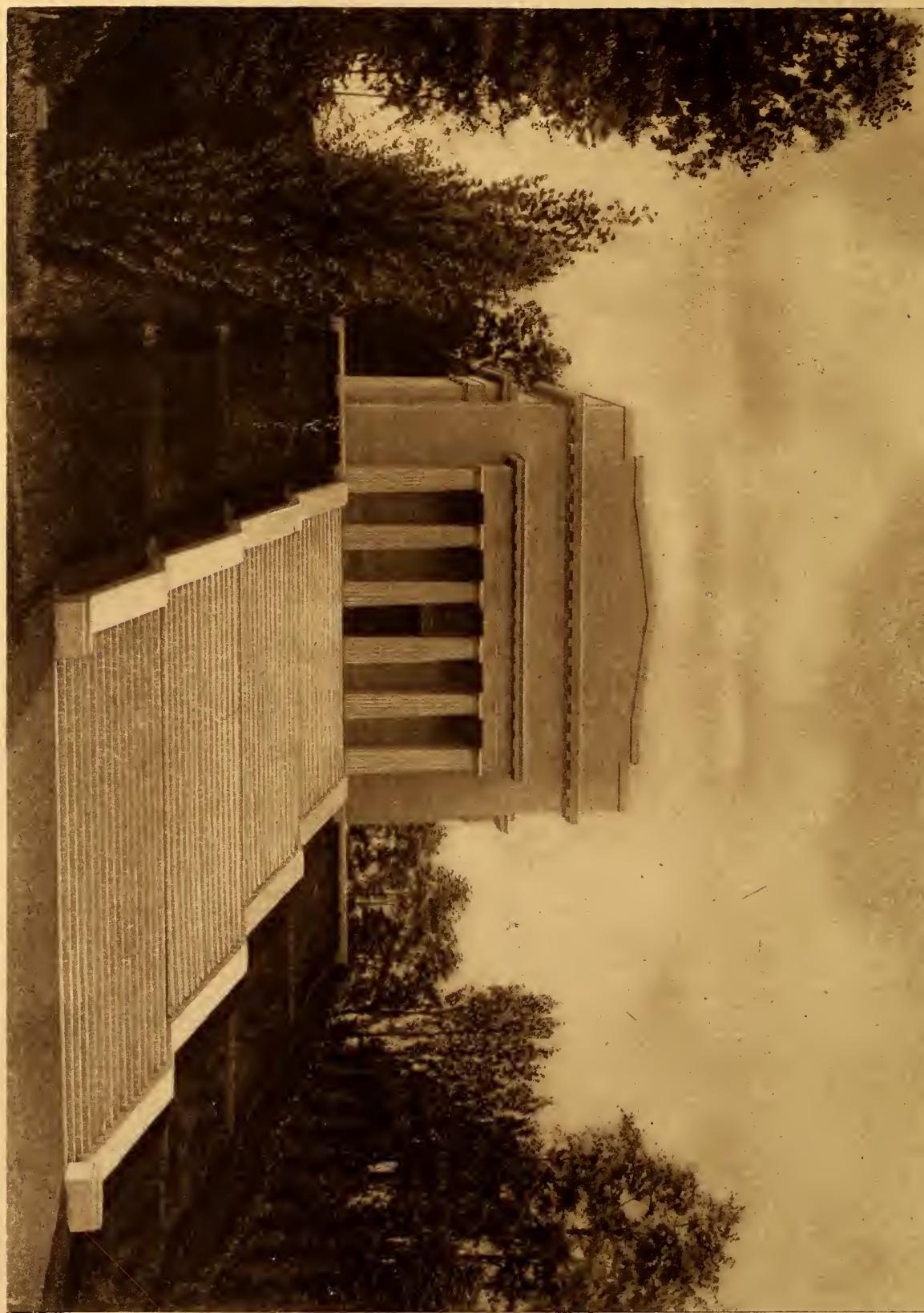
On the evening of April 14 President Lincoln went with his family and some friends to Ford's Theater. John Wilkes Booth, an actor, hated Lincoln fanatically and with several others had arranged a plot to assassinate the heads of the government.

Booth nerv'd himself up to his murder-

ous deed by drinking brandy. Holding his pistol in one hand and his knife in the other, he opened the box door, put the revolver to the president's head, and fired. He then stabbed Major Rathbone in the arm and vaulted to the stage; but his spur caught in the flag that draped the front of the box, and when he fell he broke his leg. Nevertheless, he leaped to his feet and brandishing his knife shouted, "Sic semper tyrannis!" (thus ever to tyrants), and rushed across the stage and out of the theater. Hunted for several days, he was shot in a barn, where he had concealed himself.

"He has shot the president!" rang through the theater. At first the audience seemed dazed. Then, wild with excitement, it leaped to its feet and rushed out to seek the murderer. Lincoln did not move. His head drooped slightly forward, and his eyes closed. The bullet had entered the back of his head and passed through his brain. He was carried to a house across the street, and messengers were sent for the cabinet. The next morning at seven o'clock, April 15, 1865, President Lincoln died. Secretary of War Stanton broke the silence that followed his last breath by saying, "Now he belongs to the ages!"

After a great funeral pageant, Lincoln's body was taken to his home, and laid to rest at Springfield, Illinois.



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